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133 361 (a common practice in the delta), or to maintain proper ground levels for the flooding of rice paddies. It is therefore unlikely that foreign settlement was fixed in any respect by the protection or by the higher and drier ground which natural levees would have afforded.

648 A frontage on the navigable Whangpoo, completing the water defenses around the British Settlement, was an additional source of security for the foreigners, since it permitted British naval vessels to command the entire site with their guns. George Balfour, the first British consul at Shanghai, in expressing his approval of Pottinger's choice of a site, stressed the importance of the Whangpoo on this point: "By our ships our power can be seen, and if necessary, felt."[9] This consideration may have been a factor in the decision to retain the prohibition against building on the river side of the Bund, a problem which is discussed in more detail below. Certainly foreign naval vessels have been prominently anchored off the Bund at every period of Shanghai's history from 1843 until the Communist take-over in 1949.

503 Along the Whangpoo and Soochow Creek, the muddy tidal foreshore was not usable for buildings or wharves until embankments had been constructed. This process, known in all the China treaty ports by the Anglo-Indian term "bunding," was a continuing job requiring large sums of money. In the case of the famous Bund along the Whangpoo frontage of the International Settlement from Soochow Creek to the Yang Ching Pang, the terms of the original grant of lease rights by the Chinese government to British subjects prohibited building within thirty feet of the high-water mark, which space was to be reserved as a tow path for the use of Chinese trackers pulling boats upstream.

503 367 When the rights of the Chinese trackers lapsed by the mid-1850's in the face of the growing foreign stake in Shanghai and the demands of steam navigation, the Shanghai Municipal Council inherited this waterfront strip by default and successfully defended it against the designs of foreign traders who wished to make commercial use of the area for warehouses and offices which would be convenient to the river.[10] The Council undertook the bunding of this strip in 1862, and in the process extended it beyond the high-water mark to

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make an overall width more than double the original thirty feet. At the northern end of this embankment, at the mouth of Soochow Creek, the Council made use of some gratuitous real estate, deposited by the Creek around the hulk of a sailing ship wrecked there in 1851, and soon made part of the mainland by continued deposition, for the establishment of a park on the river side of the Bund. A broad boulevard was built from Soochow Creek to the Yang Ching Pang along the new embankment (later extended by the French into their Settlement), and this artificially preserved freeway has been maintained by the modern city as its chief showplace and promenade ground, lined to landward by hotels, banks, trading houses, and public buildings, but on the river side by unsightly floating wharves (necessitated by the annual tidal range of 13.6 feet) and mud flats exposed at low tide.

On this problem also the Communist administration of the city have expressed themselves in another project to dress up China's modern front door to the West. The current project for the Bund (now largely completed) calls for the removal of the railway and street car lines which have run down the middle of the broad embankment, with attendant rickshaw stands and cargo stations, and their replacement by an island to be planted with grass and trees, in a reversion to the original late nineteenth century pattern. Planting is also to be added on the river side of the Bund, to provide some screen in front of the harbor functions which are too important to move, however unsightly.

Water Supply

Water for drinking and for the manifold needs of a large city has been a perennial difficulty, since the brackish Whangpoo is high in carbonates and indifferently potable, while most local wells yield an even less desirable and more limited supply. Only the relatively modest demands of most of the Chinese population and the absence of any large pure-water consuming industries make the water supply adequate for such a large city on this site.

Until 1883 all water used by the foreigners for drinking (aside from that drawn from the few local wells) was dipped from the Whangpoo or Soochow Creek (and by the Chinese from the other